

A N
A C C O U N T

Of all the
V A R I A T I O N S

Contained in the
T R E A T Y of P E A C E

Lately signed between their *Catholick, Christian* and *Britannick* Majesties at *Seville*,

From the *Quadruple Alliance*.

W I T H

REMARKS on two Pamphlets just published, the one entituled, *The Free-Briton Extraordinary*; the other *A Review of Mr. Francklin's Short View, &c.*

A L S O

Several D E B A T E S very lately passed in the House of Commons, and *Observations thereon*.

L O N D O N :

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1729-30.

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To the Right Hon. the

LORD *HARRINGTON*.

MY LORD,

PARDON me, my Lord, that I presume to break in upon your Lordship's Goodness, in offering to your Consideration these few unpolished Lines; nor can I conceive they will be ungrateful to you since they only treat of a Subject wherein you bear a Part. I must confess I could scarce contain myself, when I perused a late party-colour'd Pamphlet that was published the other Day by the Publisher of the Craftsman and his Associates that were linked together in a strict Union and Confederacy, to asperse the Conduct of the present Ministry, in relation to the Peace, an Affair that you were solici-
tous

The Dedication..

tous to bring to bear ; nor was there much Reason to doubt of succeeding whilst the Management was placed into the Hands of so prudent and able a Statesman, whose Predecessors have been so serviceable to the whole Community, that have spent their vital Spirits, and exhausted their Blood, and have cheerfully run thro' the Fatigues of tedious and dangerous Campaigns, to preserve our religious Rights, and the Liberty and property of the People, that valuable or rather inestimable Jewel that was granted to us when we had the Confirmation of the Great Charter in the Reign of King Henry III. with the severest Anathema's on the Infringers of it that State or Religion can devise. Know ye, said the King in his Introduction, that we in the Fear of God, for the Salvation of our Souls, the Exaltation of the Church, and the Amendment of this Kingdom : In which Words are contained the Motives that

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that induced the King to make that Grant.

But now, my Lord, I consider the final Cause of that Grant, which was for the Reformation of ill Customs that had crept into the Law; he therefore that endeavours to preserve the Law, and the Constitution both in Church and State, in that primitive Purity (when we first received the Great Charter which is a just equilibrium or Ballance of Power) acts the Part of a faithful Subject, and deservedly ought to be caress'd and promoted to Dignity, as a grateful acknowledgment of his good Stewardship: From hence it is inductively demonstrable, that if the Establishment of good Laws (which were never better secured than at present) be the Way to procure such inestimable Happiness, the continuance of bad Customs and Oppression, inclines to all the contrary Consequences; that is, to be dishonourable to God, hazardous to Salvation, and injurious to
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The Dedication.

the church. The Reason perhaps why Machiavel ascribes a more exalted Renown to those Statesmen who reform the Corruptions of a disordered State, than to those that continue the good Government which they found grounded on this solid Maxim, that such Act of Reformation is of that high Merit, that it produces a Benefit of the Good, exceeding the Mischief of the Evil. E Ueramente (says he) un principe cercando la gloria del mondo deverebbe desiderare di possedere una citta Corrotta non par Guastarlo come Cæsare, ma par Riordinarla come Romulo. A Prince ambitious of the Honour of this World, would desire to come to a Kingdom under the corruption of ill customs, not to ruin it like Cæsar, but to reform it like Romulus.

When we consider the destructive Measures that were taken at a certain Time to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Government, when Liberty and Property

The Dedication.

perty lay tottering upon the Brink of Ruin by the Machinations, and the perverse and wicked Principles of an interested Faction. If we but look at the Situation of the present Posture of our Affairs, as a single Instance of the Almighty's Goodness and Clemency towards us, in fixing the Mendine of our Prosperity by the Accession of his late Majesty to the Imperial Crown of these Realms.

That your Lordship therefore may live long to be a strenuous Assertor of the Rights and Liberties of the People to the temporal Peace and Felicity of his Majesty and his faithful Subjects, shall be the continual Prayers of,

Your Lordship's

Most Humble Servant,

The A U T H O R.

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A SECOND
V I E W
 O F
POLITICAL AFFAIRS
 Relating to
GREAT-BRITAIN.

A Wicked Orator pollutes the Law, and misconstrues the most regular Actions, defending Falshood by Fallacy, and Imposture by deceitful Arguments; which, tho' they have their Successes for a time, and carry with them the Sanction of some inconsiderate People; yet, no sooner are they discovered and set in their proper Colours, but they are observed with that Detestation and that just Resentment that is due to so vile an Imposture.

B

THERE

THERE being a Pamphlet publish'd a few Days since by the Author of the *Craftsman*, wherein he gives the World a long detail or spurious Catalogue of primary Causes, Accidents and Events, in relation to the management of Publick Affairs; whereby he would fain arraign the Conduct of a certain Minister of State, whose indefatigable Labour, Pains and Industry, for Years past, have been calculated for publick Utility and the Benefit of the whole Community. I thought it a Point of duty incumbent on me, in Justice to the Conduct of that great Man, to detect the Author and his manifest Prevarications, feign'd and sophistical Arguments, and many palpable Errors.

He tells us, that in the Year 1720, we had Assurances from the Crown that we were in Peace with all Powers abroad; and that we were offer'd the Mediatorship in Conjunction with *France*, in order to terminate the Differences betwixt *Germany* and *Spain*; but he has forgot to hint, that we were only *Nominees*, without Power or Authority, to make a final End, and an amicable Determination, *Spain* having reposed all her Confidence in the Fidelity and Friendship of *France*; and therefore his Majesty thought himself oblig'd in honour to refuse the Offer. Nor is it probable to suppose that the *Spaniards* could so soon, *ex Corde*, forget the Loss they sustained by the *British* Fleet in that memorable

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morable Sea-fight near the *Sicilian Coast*, to put any Confidence in us. No, these are airy Notions, fond Ideas, and carry nothing with them but Scandal and Reproach.

I have seen a Lark, when too closely pursued by a Bird of Prey, throw himself for shelter and self-preservation into the Arms of a Man, choosing rather to trust itself to the Power of a Foe that might have Lenity and Compassion enough to consider its Distress, than to an enraged, relentless and avowed Enemy, that neither wanted Ability nor Inclination to destroy it. This Simile will bear a parallel to the Situation of the *Spanish Affairs* at that critical Juncture, when they offer'd us in part the Mediation: For whereas, without any previous Declaration of War, or any other Provocation than their insatiable Avarice and unbounded Ambition, the *Spaniards*, like a sudden Inundation, had over-run *Sardinia*, and by Force of Arms re-united that dismember'd Part to the *Spanish Monarchy*. Flush'd and transported with their Success, they were resolv'd likewise to reduce *Sicily* to their Obedience; and, in order to effect their Design, invaded that Island with a numerous Army, well furnished with all the necessary Implements for War. As this was a plain and demonstrative Proof of the Violation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, *Great Britain* was oblig'd, as a Friend and an Ally, to support and maintain the Empe-

ror's and the present *Sardinian* King's Pretensions to those two considerable Islands; and the King of *Spain* having, before the signing of the Peace, resign'd all Right, Title, Interest and Property to them. When therefore he plainly saw the Avenues to that Island block'd up by the *British* Fleet, his Affairs in a declining Condition, his Army half starved and reduced, without hopes of being either supplied or reinforced; the *German* Army considerably augmented by the arrival of fresh Troops from *Italy*, he began, *Proteus* like, to change his Shape, in order to prevent the total Ruin of that Army, which was composed of the best Veteran Troops in his Kingdom. Upon these interested Views, it was no wonder if he applied himself to *Great Britain* to compose the Differences between the contending Powers, having it at that Time in her Power to turn the Ballance which Way she pleas'd; the Fate of *Sicily* depending upon the seasonable Assistance she sent thither.

UPON these Considerations they flew into the Arms of *Great Britain*, as to a safe Assylum, by whose Influence they entertain'd hopes of retrieving their desperate Fortune. They were certain that we were jealous of their Proceedings; and that if they had succeeded in *Sicily*, their next attempt would have been on the Island of *Minorca*: And tho' they had sufficiently experienced our Courage and Conduct, and that

that we had those at the Helm of Affairs of great Penetration and Foresight, Abilities, unwearied Diligence and Application in their several Stations; yet they had such a Confidence in our honest generous Nature, that we could as easily forgive as revenge an Injury; and as we had no other Views but to keep an equal Poise, a Ballance of Power in *Europe*, we would perswade the *Imperialists* to let them return safe under *Cæsar's* Conduct, being at that time Masters of the *Mediterranean Sea*.

*For when the violent Winds and Seas do jar,
And raise amidst themselves a Civil War;
The Sand does proudly ride the troubled
Waves,
And, Neptune like, fam'd Britain rules the
Seas.*

WHEN therefore whilst we were employing our good Offices to compose the Differences between those two Potentates, they had, without our Knowledge or Consent, resolved to adjust Matters amicably among themselves. No considerate Person can justly blame the Ministry for being alarm'd at their Proceedings, and for endeavouring to provide for their Security by a counter Alliance, which was happily begun and finished with unwearied Diligence at *Hannover*, to the Terror and Astonishment of the *Vienna* Allies, who began to disavow those secret Articles that had deservedly given umbrage to the *British* Nation, who
were

were timely provided to prevent the Execution of their Schemes.

THE Author of the *Craftsman*, and his Adherents, would fain induce us to believe, that the first Motive to that sudden unaccountable and formidable Union, was the sending back the Infanta to *Spain*. This was an Affront they could not easily digest; but we do not find that they took any other Measure to be revenged for the Indignity offered, than the sending back the Regent's Daughter to her Parents, which could not well irritate or influence the *French* Councils, seeing it was only paying them in their own Coin.

THE second was, the refusing to deliver up the Fortrefs of *Gibraltar* into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, in pursuance of a positive Engagement, and founded on a Letter from his late Majesty to the King of *Spain*. I have read in the *Craftsman*, that there was such a Letter, and that the Words of it in relation to *Gibraltar*, were, that he would make them easy as to that Affair; yet those Words do not simply imply that he would peaceably deliver it to them. When Persons are in anxiety and doubt, betwixt hopes and despair, and restless and solicitous to know the event and determination of an Affair, to keep them in suspense, and still give them hopes of attaining their Point, is no positive grant; nor do the Premises quoted in the *Craftsman* admit of such

Such a regular Conclusion. Besides, I do not find that this nice Subject was ever moved, or so much as mentioned in Parliament; therefore it is my Opinion, that no wise Man durst attempt to perswade his late Majesty to a Concession so highly detrimental to the common and united Interest of his native Country, without the Vote or Consent of the Representatives of the Nation, seeing he lay liable to a Prosecution, a Bill of Attainder in Parliament, from which neither the Affection of his Prince, nor his feign'd Innocence, could secure him, till he had fallen a Sacrifice to the just Resentment of an injured People.

I do not deny, but that all Nations have, *ex Jure divino*, a Right to enter into Engagements, Leagues offensive and defensive, for their mutual Benefit and Advantage; but then the Articles of such Confederacies are generally made publick; they are not kept as a Secret to hoodwink their Neighbours, and lull them into a lethargick Security, till their Affairs are brought to a Crisis, and are ripe for Action.

WHEN we consider the vast Expence, and how much Blood and Treasure was expended in the War declared against the united Monarchy of *France* and *Spain* in the Year 1701. to support the Pretensions of the House of *Austria* to maintain the Right and Title of the present Emperor *Charles* to the Dominions of *Spain*: That the Imperial
Diadem

Diadem, which now he wears, lay tottering over his Father's Head, when false *Bavaria*, regarding his private Interest more than his Duty and Allegiance, having defeated General *Plesse* at *Scardingen*, and the Prince of *Brandenburgh Anspach* in the Upper *Palatinate*, join'd the *French Army*, under the Command of the Marshal *Villars*, which occasioned the greatest Consternation in the Empire; where Things would have been reduced to the utmost Extremity, had it not been for the timely Assistance sent thither under the Command of that victorious General *John*, Duke of *Marlborough*, who having given the *French* the slip, began his march from the *Moselle* toward the *Danube*, on the 18th Day of *March*, 1704, and join'd Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* on the 22d of *June* following. He was no sooner arriv'd, but he immediately forc'd the *Bavarians* in their strong Intrenchments at the Pass of *Donawaert*, which was a prelude to their Success at that memorable and famous Battle at *Hochstedt*, where the *French Army* was entirely defeated, after the Loss of 13000 taken Prisoners, with 27 General Officers, Marshal *Tallard* being of that Number, and 1200 Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, &c. exclusive of 27000 Men kill'd and drowned in the *Danube*. This Success was followed with the Conquest of all *Bavaria*, and the *Germans* freed from their Apprehensions and the dismal Consequences and Calamities of a destructive War. These Circumstances consider'd, sure I am it is Ingratitude of

of the highest Nature, and the blackest hue, to harbour even a Thought that tended to the Prejudice, much more to enter into a Combination and a Confederacy to subvert the established Constitution of *Great Britain*. But

Ingratum si dixeris, omnia dixeris.

'Tis certain *Spain* and the *Empire* were either ashamed of their Actions, or afraid to publish their Designs, lest *Great Britain*, being justly alarmed at their close Intrigues, should be upon her guard, and prevent the execution of them. But what adds most to our Admiration, is, that (regardless of the good Offices, and the signal Favours received from this Nation) *Charles* should enter into an Association against one of the Princes of the Empire, whose Predecessors have always exerted themselves for the Interest and Welfare of his Family.

OUR Author was pleas'd to say, that we might have safely acceded to the Treaty as we were invited to do. But to what Part of it were we invited? Were we desired to accede to these following Articles? *First*, That the King of *Spain* had engaged himself to support his Imperial Majesty by force of Arms, in carrying on a Trade from *Ostend* to the *East Indies*, and had given him greater Privileges in the *West Indies* than to the *English*, by which he would be in a Condition to forestal our Markets there; and by

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vending those Commodities in *Europe* at a much cheaper Price than we could afford them, engross the whole Trade to himself. *Secondly*, That his Imperial Majesty had taken a like Engagement to assist the King of *Spain* to wrest *Gibraltar* out of our Hands. But to prove this Article a vain surmise, he tells us, that the Emperor did not give the King of *Spain* any Assistance during the Siege of *Gibraltar*, which is probable he would have done, if there had been such an Engagement betwixt them. To this I answer, that as the King of *Spain* wanted no Assistance, having competent Forces to attack it with Success, were it not secured by its Situation, and the obstinate Resistance the Garrison made. *Thirdly*, That they had both jointly engaged to make an Attempt in favour of the Pretender, and to set him on the Throne of *Great Britain*. *Fourthly*, That a Marriage was agreed upon between *Don Carlos*, and the eldest *Carolina*, Arch-Duchess.

THESE Articles consider'd, not only affront the Dignity of the Crown, but strike at the very Root of our fundamental Laws, the Lives, the Liberty and Property of the People; who can blame the Ministry for their precaution? A Man that stands still, and will not defend himself when he has it in his Power, derogates from the Dignity of his Manhood, and may properly be said to be a *Felo de se*.

WE

WE find it experienced every Day, that Persons charged with Criminal Causes will deny the Facts to justify their Innocence: Why then should we admire that the Emperor, when he found himself detected in those destructive Measures which he had concerted, in conjunction with *Spain*; that formidable Union, which not only threaten'd *Europe* with the necessary Calamities of a premeditated War, but tended to an absolute Dominion, an universal Monarchy, should, *ipso facto*, declare the Report of the secret Treaty to be a false Assertion, a groundless Surmize.

THE Designs of *Spain* were so evident from the Execution of them, that there was no room for any Scrutiny; nor need the Author of the *Enquiry* have given himself much trouble about it, since it was obvious to the meanest Capacity, by their secret and clandestine Actions, that *latet Anguis in herba*; for the *Spaniards* had stifled their Resentments for any supposed Injury received, and for the Loss of their gallant Fleet, without any previous Declaration of War, or any Hostilities committed before that fatal Time.

THE only Motive to the *Hanover* Alliance, was the Necessity we were under at that Time to enter into an Engagement for our common Safety and mutual Interest; and as Self-Preservation is the first Principle

of Nature, our Ministry may be said in this Affair to act by a natural Instinct for the Security of themselves, and their Allies; and whatever may be the Opinion of some People, the Event justifies their Proceedings, since we have at last obtained a Peace on very advantageous Terms.

THE *Germans* indeed, to palliate the Matter, have loudly exclaimed against our Way of Proceeding; that we first deserted their Interest, and left them to shift for themselves. But how to prove this Position is a Query that wants a Solution; for it is evident, that the Treaty of *Vienna* was concluded and ratified before the Treaty of *Hanover* had a Beginning. It was the secret offensive Alliance that rais'd our Indignation, alarm'd our Fears, and put us upon our Guard, and induced us to enter upon those Negotiations with our good and faithful Allies, which have struck a damp on the vigorous Resolutions that were concerted betwixt his Imperial Majesty and the King of *Spain*.

THE sending a strong Squadron to the *West Indies* has been highly aggravated at sundry Times. I shall not take upon me to assign the Reason that obliged the Ministry to pursue such extraordinary Measures, which cost so much Money, and destroyed so many of his Majesty's faithful Subjects; but it is certain, that the Stationing the Fleet in those Parts, prevented the conjunction

junction of the Flotilla with the Galleons, and the return of those two important Fleets from *La Vera Cruz* and *Porto Bello*, and disabled his Catholick Majesty from fulfilling his Engagements with the Emperor; and consequently prevented an open Rupture, and the dismal Consequences and Depradations of a War, in which most of the Powers in *Europe* must have been engaged.

THE second Fleet was sent to the *Baltick*, to prevent the *Muscovites* favouring the Cause of the Duke of *Holstein*, and the kindling a War in the North, which would have so effectually employed some of the *Hanover* Allies, that, in Case of Necessity, they could not have furnished their stipulated Quota's.

THE third was sent to the *Mediterranean*, to secure *Gibraltar* against the Insults of the *Spaniards*, who at that Time had closely besieged it, the weakest Part of the Fortifications lying towards the Sea, and to cruise in those Parts, and watch the Motions of the Enemy; for while the Communication was open that Way, we could supply that important Place from Time to Time with seasonable Succours for its Defence, and gall the *Spaniards* in their Intrenchments, they having already commenced Hostilities against that impregnable Fortress, in hopes to recover it out of the Hands of the *English*.

It is natural for a Man when he is charged with a Design to execute a Project, to deny the Fact, because there is no stated and positive Proof to the Matter contained in the Allegations against him. This absolute Denial does not proceed from the Intention to vindicate his Innocence, but out of an abject, depraved and pusillanimous Nature; for, like a Thief, he resolves upon Darkness and Obscurity to execute his intended Project, because his Actions will not bear the Touchstone of downright Integrity, and plain Dealing above-board. Hence it is a demonstrative Evidence that the *Secret Offensive Alliance* concluded at *Vienna*, from its Embrio, was patched up with base and treacherous Machinations, destructive to the common and united Interest of the whole Community: For whereas all those Blessings that we enjoy at present, a free and uninterrupted Exercise of our religious Rights, the Liberty and Property of the People are secured by the Succession in the Protestant Line in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, to attempt to impose upon us a *Pseudo Mustapha*, or a false *Plantagenet* (a Person that even allowing him to have been *legitimately* born, is excluded from any Dominion, any Power or Authority in these Kingdoms) as to sap the very Foundation of our happy Constitution, and to bring us under the dismal Consequences of Tyranny, Slavery and absolute Dominion.

. CERTAINLY

CERTAINLY the Government of *Great Britain* cannot be said to stand upon a slight and slippery Foundation that has stood so long upon the single Basis of her own fundamental and salutary Laws: And it is observable that *England* first began to flourish when the Laws being reduced into one Body, were under the Direction of one universal Monarchy: Nor could the Breach of a *Norman* Conquest hinder the Chasms of long enjoy'd Liberty, from uniting again, and closing itself more firmly with the Cement of its former Constitutions, calculated by so many Kings of this Island for the Meridian of *English* Freedom; whoever therefore would endeavour to subvert or break thro' those Laws strikes at our Constitution, and thereby invades the Liberty and Property of a free-born People, and can be rated no other than a publick and an avow'd Enemy to the Body-politick of this Nation.

To come to Particulars; the Statutes are made not only by the Princes assent, but also by the Consent of the People, so that of Necessity they must procure them Wealth and Prosperity, and in no wise tend to the Prejudice and Destruction of them; and it cannot be thought but that they are incessantly replenish'd with much Caution and Wisdom; seeing they are ordained not by the Providence or Deliberation of one Man alone, but of more than five hundred chosen Persons.

By

By this Means the Lives and Estates of the People of this Nation are in a great Measure secured: For that no Person can be depriv'd of his Possessions if his Tenure be just and equitable: Nor is his Life or Liberty liable to the Blasts of Arbitrary Power, so that the Courts of Justice are as it were publick Registers, ready to give an Account of all the particular Actions and Demeanor of the Law, insomuch that the Law itself may, in a Manner, be said to be upon its Good Behaviour in the just and equal Distribution of Justice betwixt Party and Party.

NOR is Faction less dangerous, which seldom make a true Construction of the *Materia Intentionis*, but carries with it a premeditated Prejudice, and an opinionated Zeal for private Advantages, and bias'd Interest. Thus a *Ghibelline* is a forejudg'd Offender right or wrong in the Breast of a *Guelph*; and a *Guelph* is condemned without any further Consideration by the Verdict of a *Ghibelline*. In such Cases the most regular Actions are misconstrued to the Disadvantage of the Party that their Spleen and Rancour is levell'd at: Nor can he be thought an honest or upright Man, maugre his Inclinations and his Actions, which are only calculated for publick Benefit and Advantage.

HENCE

HENCE it is that we daily see so many *Libels* published against the Conduct and frugal Management of *Great Men*, branded with Infamy and Disgrace, and charged with converting immense Sums annually to their own private Use, purely to keep up the Spirits of a declining Faction; and with an Intent to possess those Stations when Time and Opportunity serve, or to get large Pensions to sooth their Temper and calm the unruly Tempest that lies lurking within their Breasts; when no doubt if the Scale was turned, and they had possess'd those very Stations, they would certainly follow their Footsteps to promote the Grandeur and Dignity of their respective Families.

I remember in the latter End of King *William's* Reign to have read a Pamphlet, intituled *The Kentish Worthies*, which gives us a lively Instance of such Tergiversation.

*You true-born English Men proceed,
Some trifling Crimes detect;
Let the Poor starve, Religion bleed,
The Dutch be d—d, the French succeed,
And all thro' your Neglect.*

*H—w once was thought an honest Man,
But now the Tool of Glory;
He for his Country first began,
But afterwards turn'd Cat in Pan,
And stinks like any T—y.*

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THIS

THIS was writ to Reproach the *Turn-Coats*, who, not so much in opposition to the Interest of the Crown, as to gratify a private Pique they had against some of the Courtiers, refused to grant an Aid to his Majesty, to enable him to revenge an Indignity for proclaiming the *Chevalier de St. George*, after the Decease of his pretended Father, the King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland* : And still obstinately persisted to Vote against it, till the Nation in general, being alarmed at their Way of Proceeding, threaten'd such Members, that if they did not speedily comply with the just and regular Demands of his Majesty, that neither they nor theirs should ever have the Honour to sit in that honourable Assembly; that they would brand their Memory with such an Odium, that even their Posterity should feel the just Resentments of an injured People.

THE general and approved Maxim of the ablest Statesmen, and wisest Politicians, which is to recruit and augment their Forces, upon the least Suspicion or certain Intelligence of any Rupture, will undoubtedly justify the Conduct and prudent Management of our Ministry in the augmentation of the Land Forces, which was but very inconsiderable, there being no intire Regiments rais'd but only an addition of a small Number of Men to each Troop and Company, which could not overburden the Nation.

tion. For no necessary Charge, for our common Security, in a national Defence, can properly be rated as such. No sooner was the Storm blown over, the Peace betwixt the King of *Great Britain* and his Catholick Majesty signed at *Seville*, which has been dextrously canvass'd by some Gentlemen amongst us, but those heavy Expences (as they are pleas'd to call them) were immediately retrench'd by a considerable Reduction of the Land Forces throughout the Dominions of *Great Britain*; so that it cannot be averr'd, that a standing Army was kept up and maintained, *ad terrorem*, but *ad securitatem populi*.

THE Decay of Trade is an accidental Misfortune that very often happens when Hostilities are commenced between powerful Nations, who neither want Ability nor Inclination to revenge an Injury received on either Side, and where the Manufacture and Staple Commodity is monopolized and engrossed by a small Number of People, who having affluence of Wealth enough to support them for a while, without carrying on the Business, lie still, to oblige the Labourers in the several Branches of the Trade to work at under Prices, or not work at all. This irregular Way of Proceeding impoverishes the Manufacturers, renders them heartless at their Labour; and the Commodities not being wrought so firm and so compleat as they have been in former Ages, when the Manufacturers had a valuable

Consideration for their daily Labour or Piece Work) are either disregarded or under rated in foreign Parts : And the Merchants not having those valuable Returns as formerly, are careless and indifferent whether they transport any Abroad, or at most send no more than is requisite to compleat the Cargo of their Ships. This is evident from the Tumults and Insurrections that have frequently happened in several Parts of this Kingdom.

ANOTHER Instance is the many great and frequent Losses which our Merchants have sustained in *America* by the *Spanish Guarda las Costas*. But as their Misfortunes are owing to their Avarice and their inordinate Desire of Lucre, I cannot see why they can justly be imputed to the Conduct of their Ministry. Their carrying on a contraband Trade, their lying and lurking along the Sea Coasts to cut and bear away clandestinely their Logwood, or to vend their Commodities to the Inland Inhabitants, which are prohibited in those Countries, subject them to many Inconveniencies. For as in reality, by their private Way of Trading, they are looked upon as Smuglers by the *Spanish* Laws, whenever they are taken they forfeit both Ship and Cargo, are made a Prize, and as such their Effects are confiscated and condemned; and this is no more than what is practis'd in *England*; for if a *Frenchman*, which is now an Ally, shall come into the Channel with an Intent to
run

run Goods, he forfeits (if taken) both Ship and Cargo. Why then should we condemn these Actions in Foreigners as unjust and illegal, which we frequently commit our selves? I only desire those Gentlemen that have so loudly and so strenuously exclaim'd against those Losses, to inform me if his Neighbours Cattle should trespass upon his Ground, whether he would not Pound them till he should make good the Damage he sustained, by the Rule of Proportion, why should he blame his Neighbour for paying him in his own Coin? by making Reprisals, as he had done before.

I come next to the signing Preliminaries for a general Pacification, which was on the 20th of *May*, O. S. in the Year 1727. by the Plenipotentiaries of his *Imperial Majesty*, his *Britannick Majesty*, the King of *France*, and the *States General*; and the 2d Day of *June* following, O. S. they were signed at *Vienna* by the Minister of his *Catholick Majesty*, and that four Months after the Signing a Congress was to be held, in which the Rights and the Pretensions of the contracting Powers should be examined, discussed and determined; and tho' the Success did not answer our Expectations, the Peace being retarded by reason that the Court of *Spain* started new Difficulties, pretending that some of the Articles were so obscure that they wanted an Explanation; he having declared that he was not obliged to raise the Siege of *Gibraltar*, because a
Suspension

Suspension of Arms could not be taken in so large an Acceptation, and the levelling the Trenches, and raising the Siege, could not be misconstrued for a bare forbearance of Hostilities; and if the desired Success did not for a considerable Time fully answer our Expectation, we ought to impute the Cause to the wavering Disposition of the *Spaniards*, who for a while have kept us in Suspence, to wait an Opportunity which perhaps they had reason to expect, from the restless and ungoverned Temper of some People, and the Seeds of Dissension that are sown among us, and not to any Defect and Neglect in the Ministry.

BUT when they found by our hostile Preparations that we were no longer to be trifled with, having wofully experienced the Force of our Arms in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIVth, and that, irritated at their Deemeanour, we began to be in earnest, and were resolved to exert ourselves, and make them sensible that as *pax queritur bello*, we would no longer defer the Execution of those Measures which were concerted with our Allies; the *Dutch* having joined us at *Spithead* with 13 Men of War. No sooner was our Embassador arrived at *Seville*, but his Catholick Majesty sign'd the long expected Peace, the Articles of which being already made Publick, I forbear to mention: Let this suffice, that we have at last obtained a very advantageous one, without much effusion of Christian Blood, or embroiling

broiling *Europe* a second time in the miserable Calamities of a vigorous, expensive and destructive War. Our Trade is now secured for the future on a firm Basis, and a sure and solid Foundation; our Merchants are to receive full and ample Satisfaction for the Depredations of the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*; the Ship Prince *Frederick* is to be restored with all her Effects; and the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, those two important Fortresses, the Bulwarks and Security of our Trade and Navigation, is no longer to be disputed, but conceded to us to all Intents and Purposes, the Tenure of all former Treaties being ratified and confirmed by this.

VARIOUS were the Speculations of some People about the Proceedings and the Success of the Congress at *Soissons*, and as various their Conjectures about the pacifick Station (as they were pleas'd to term it) of that formidable Fleet, the united Squadron of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, that lay so long at *Spithead*, which are only airy Notions, fond Chimæras, invidiously spread Abroad, to taint the Reputation of a certain great Man by malicious Misrepresentations, and render him odious to the whole Community.

I have heard it confidently reported, that the Governour, the Earl of *Portmore*, should declare before he embarked for his Command, that he would not upon any Account
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whatsoever deliver the Possession of *Gibraltar* into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament, and an especial Order from his Majesty, under his own Hand writing; which does not look as if there were the least Thoughts harboured by the Legislative Power on this Side the Water of parting passively with that beneficial and important Place, whatever might be alledged, supposed or declared.

THE next general Grievance is the Embargo for above two Months together on all Ships bound from *Jamaica* and *Virginia*, which gave an Opportunity to other trading Maritime Powers to vend the Commodities of *America*; such as Sugar, Tobacco, &c. at a much better Price than they could then reasonably have expected, if our Commerce from those Parts had not been interrupted. In this, I think, the Conduct of the Governors is justifiable; for whereas they had repeated Assurance and Intelligence, that the *Spaniards* had entertained Thoughts of invading one of these Plantations, tho' perhaps if they had succeeded in their Attempt, they could not propose to maintain their new Acquisitions, yet they would have done us such infinite Damage by gutting, depopulating and destroying those Plantations, that it would hardly be worth while to repossess them, or at least the Damage could not be repaired in some Years; which would still prove a greater
Detri-

Detriment to our Trade and Navigation than a simple Embargo for a Month or two; it being found by woeful Experience, that where the *Spaniards* (like the barbarous and inhospitable *Turks*) once set their Footsteps, there grow neither Leaves nor Grass.

THE *Spaniard* always takes the first Care of himself, indulges his Nobility, and is careless of his People; the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy get all, being altogether Tribute free, the common People being so intolerably burthened, that they are forced to leave their settled Habitations, not being able to provide for their Families, which is the Reason that such Numbers flock to *Spain* to make their Fortunes, who being *Soldados de fortuna*, and hungry wherewithal, neither spare Mankind in their Rage, nor the Product of the Country in their Avarice. It is no wonder therefore that the Inhabitants of those Countries, solicitous of their Welfare, did all that in them lay to provide for their Security, and prevent, if possible, the execution of the Projects of the *Spaniards*: Nor can I suppose that the small Interval of Time which was spent in their mutual Defence could be a Loss, and of Consequence no great Damage to the Inhabitants; for which was it better and less detrimental, to suspend their Commerce for a while, or supinely lie without any previous Consideration, and let the *Spaniards* come and plunder them at Discretion, and passively cry after the *Spanish Gravity*, pa-

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tientia per force unde no ai Remedio, shrug up their Shoulders, and thank their own Indolence for their Misfortunes and the irreparable Damages which they received.

As I have considered already the Motives to this Rupture with *Spain*, it will be superfluous to hang much longer on that Subject; therefore, to cut short my Narration, I will give you a sketch or two of some material and principal Causes that first induced the *Spaniards* to have recourse to Arms. First then, The *Spaniards* in the *French* Interest, thro' the glorious and repeated Successes of the confederated Allies, were reduced to that low Ebb of Fortune, that they were forced to fly for Shelter to the utmost Confines of their Territory; General *Stanhope* and Count *Staremburg* having defeated them in two memorable Battles, *Almanza* and *Saragossa*, march'd directly to *Madrid*, the Metropolitan of their Kingdom. The generality of the *Spaniards* hating the Tyranny of arbitrary and despotick Government, had deserted the Interest of King *Philip*, and had declared for the House of *Austria*; and as the Confederates marched along were often heard to cry, *Vive Carolus trecerus*. The King therefore wisely foreseeing that there was no subsisting or supporting his Pretensions to the Crown of *Spain* without the Assistance of *France*, seeing that the loss of one considerable Battle would decide the Controversy and determine the Fate of Empire, was necessitated

sitated to submit to any Terms which the Court of *France* could propose, to put an End to the War that had cost *Europe* so much Blood and Treasure.

THE *French* having lost most of their new Acquisitions, the fortified Frontier Towns, that were the Bulwark of his Hereditary Country, wisely foresaw that if there was not a speedy Cessation of Hostilities the Duke of *Marlborough* would have proclaim'd her *Britannick* Majesty, before two Campaigns were finished, Queen of *France*, within the Gates of *Paris*, made some Overtures of Peace, which, upon the Change of Ministry, were strenuously promoted on the Part of the *French* King, and willingly accepted by the Ministry of *Great Britain*; for the victorious Duke of *Marlborough* being removed from the Command of the Army, they were afraid that if his Successor should be so unfortunate as to loose one Battle, it would ruin their Measures, and bring in the discarded Ministry.

IN the Preliminary Articles which were sign'd, it was stipulated that there should be a Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy; the Emperor of *Germany* was to have the Island of *Sardinia*, with the Dukedom of *Milan*, *Mantua*, *Naples*, &c. in *Italy*: The Duke of *Savoy* was to have *Sicily*, with the Title of a King; and King *Philip* was formally and *bona fide*, to renounce all his Pretensions, all Right, Title, Interest and

Property to *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*, to her *British* Majesty Queen *Anne*; and a Congress being form'd at *Utrecht*, a Peace was ratified and concluded by all the Potentates in the Grand Alliance, exclusive of the Emperor and the Empire, in the Year 1713. to our eternal Dishonour and Disgrace, Monsieur *de Torcy* having cajol'd a certain Secretary of State of *Great Britain* with his Cunning Art and Sophistry: " I hope, *said he*, that you will
 " not take Advantage of my Age and Decay
 " of Memory, to the Prejudice of my
 " Master's Interest, since you had so much
 " Youth on your Side, so great a Capacity
 " and Skill in the Management of your
 " Royal Mistress's Affairs.

SPAIN having had by this Treaty time to breath and to recover herself, being freed from the Apprehensions of a Competitor for his Imperial Crown, was resolved no longer to abide by those harsh Rules that were prescrib'd him by the Court of *France*, was resolved to reunite those dismember'd Parts of his Dominions, by degrees, to the *Spanish* Monarchy.

Secondly, KING *Philip's* Friendship was only from the Teeth outwards, being only a forc'd and feign'd Affection, which did not proceed from the real Intention of the Mind: He was irritated and bore us a secret and inveterate Grudge for the Assistance we gave the present Emperor, to disturb him
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in the quiet and peaceable Possession of his Throne; and therefore having concluded with the Emperor at *Vienna* a Treaty offensive and defensive, thought himself in a Condition to deal with us; and by the help of his Situation and Vicinity, and the Disadvantage of our Distance from *Gibraltar*, to wrest it out of our Hands, which having once got into his Possession, he did not doubt by the like Surprise to make a Conquest of the whole Island of *Minorca*, or oblige us to keep a Fleet continually in the *Mediterranean Sea*; which would be so expensive to us, that we should soon grow tired of the Burthen, and, in Process of Time, look upon it like a second *Tangier*, a Place of more Cost than Worship.

Thirdly, THAT by regaining these two important Places he had it in his Power, when he pleas'd, to embarrass us in our Trade and Navigation, and bring our Necks to the grinding stone; and, lastly, he might be prompted on by our good Protestant Refugee Subjects, who are fled to *Spain* to screen themselves from that Censure which their Actions and their Demerits justly deserve, in hopes that the Distraction and the Dissatisfaction of their Friends at home, might, with the Assistance of the *Spanish* Nation, put it once more in their Power to retrieve their desperate Fortunes, and reinstate them in their former Capacities and Employments.

SOME

SOME indeed are pleas'd to doubt, whether the Treaty lately publish'd by Mr. *Buckley* be a genuine one, because it does not appear to be published by Authority. To this I answer, that it was never judg'd necessary by a wise Legislative Power to publish the Articles of a Treaty concluded with any foreign Power before the said Treaty was either approved or disapproved, or had the Sanction of both Houses of Parliament. Yet there are some Men that might have Interest enough to learn the literal Sense and Meaning of them, tho' they could not attain to the express Words of the Treaty. In such Cases it is customary to make Observations on it, to inform the Nation whether it is calculated for the Benefit and Advantage or the Disadvantage of the Community; and in such Cases, I dare say, no Man of Veracity will publish an erroneous Construction, calculated on purpose to impose upon the World, by straining it to the Sense which the Words will not bear, and could not possibly be intended by the contracting Parties; because such a Publication will rather redound to his Disadvantage than his Credit, and be Injurious to the Character of the Ministry.

YET I find our Author does not absolutely deny the Tenure of the Articles, but only surmises such a Thing, because they were not published by Authority,
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which is only a vain Surmize, and like his Syllogistick Way of Arguing; I believe it is not so, therefore it must not be so; which rather discovers his Rancour and Spleen than his Integrity.

FOR whenever Division and Distraction, Displacency, Concord and Unity, so like the precious Ointment that ran down from the Beard to the Skirts of the Sacrificer's Garment, disturb the OEconomy of good Government, and disorder the steady Course of *Meum* and *Tuum*, Justice is put to a Nonplus, being courted of all Hands at the vast Expence of fawning Rhetorick and Reward, whilst both Parties endeavour to make her the Patron of their Pretensions: So that when Justice seeks Redress, or Wrong and Injury implore Relief, Justice, like a certain kind of Centinel, demands who are ye for? and puts ye to the *Shibboleth* Test, before she will admit a Parley. And while the Nation is thus embroiled, what can be expected but *sæva fusta continuæ accusationes*, & *fallaces Amicitia*, which only tend to Ruin and Destruction: A Scene far different from those Times of Unity and Peace of which *Tacitus* speaks, when it was lawful to think what a Man pleas'd, and speak what he thought, provided there was any Verity in what he spoke; the surest Character of national Quiet and Unanimity.

THE Romans had no less than four Temples in Rome, dedicated to Concord, more than

than ~~are~~ sometimes to be found in some Christian Cities, which have three times the Number of Churches. *Concord* is the *Medulla Spinalis* of a Kingdom, that fortifies and strengthens the several Parts of a Realm, gives it Force and Activity, and makes it pliable to all the Performances of Virtue and heroick Magnanimity; that renders it compact and strong at Home, and formidable Abroad, and consequently secure from clandestine and domestick Distempers, and the Menaces of foreign Violence. And for this Reason it was, that the *Thebans* assign'd the Protection of their City to the Goddess *Harmentia*; thereby intimating the vast Benefits which Kingdoms and Cities received from the strict observance of Unity and Concord among themselves: And the *Achaens* then flourish'd most highly in Renown, when *Singularium urbium pericula mutuis viribus propulabant*; for such was the Concord and Unanimity of the several Cities under their Jurisdiction, that they were said to be but one City environed with several Walls. I wish I could say so much of our Countrymen within the respective Towns, Cities and Villages of the Dominions of *Great Britain*; but such a Blessing will scarce be felt in this Climate. And it is further recorded to their Fame, that while Justice and Concord held the Reins of their Government, not all the Force of their confederated Adversaries could remove them from their Station: But when those Virtues were exiled by Avarice and Ambition, and the Poison of Discord had
infused

infused itself into their Councils, then fell that noble and renowned Commonwealth; whose Felicities of Justice and Concord proceeded from the equal Poise between the Authority of the supream Rulers and the Peoples Liberty.

BUT the Concord and Unanimity of a Nation more especially born to Freedom, and the remembrance of their Ancestors heroick Atchievements, are such frightful Apparitions to the jealous Politicks of all the neighbouring World, that every one endeavours to prevent the Progress of such a menacing Association; nor are the fatal Instruments of Discord wanting to assist and forward their Designs. So prevalent are the Sedulous and Crafty to the Service of the worst of Mistresses.

AMONG the rest none have infused their Poison more deeply into the Veins of a thoughtless Multitude, who have not Penetration enough to discern the dark Arcana's of a curious Pen, than those Party Scribblers, combined against the Maxims of good OEconomy and civil Society, whose only Business and Employment it is in this World to incense the People against their Princes, and the Princes against their Subjects; they are a Set of useless, worthless Men, as Dr. *Sacheverel* explains it, conceiv'd in Faction, nurs'd in Sedition, and bred up in Rebellion; these very far exceed *Proteus*,

or any Infernal Spirit, in the assumption of Shapes and formal Disguises.

It becomes every true Christian, and every faithful Subject, to arm themselves against these several Pests of National Concord and Unanimity, which cannot be better effected than by discrediting whatever they shall write or aver for Matter of Fact; for it can be no Crime for Men born free, to preserve their ancient Rights and Liberties by the proper and legal Means prescribed by the fundamental Laws of the Land. It can be no Crime to countermine the hidden Trains of ambitious Projects and self-interested Reports, which are grounded on vain Surmizes, and for present Gratification lie sapping the very Foundation of all Common good, and National Peace and Tranquillity. It can be no Offence to have a watchful and vigilant Eye upon the concealed Corroders into the Bowels of Law and Liberty, and to display the Discoveries of their Wiles and Frauds; for, for want of Detection, the Law looses in part the opportunity of Reformation.

To serve a Prince because we receive particular Graces and Benefits from his Authority, is no Obedience but Self-interest, and consequently there is no assurance of their Fidelity, which changes in an Instant on the hopes of a better Market. I write this in reference to a certain Person, who
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at a certain Time, in a certain Place, pretended he had voluntarily quitted an Employ; because he could not in Conscience chime in with the Measures that were taken by the Ministry; when at the very same Time it was evident he quitted the one in hopes of getting another Post of more Profit, Grandeur and Power than the other; which being refus'd him, it has incens'd our noble Patriot, so that he has not since been reconciled to his Antagonist. In this unhappy Difference betwixt these two great Men, the present Posture of Affairs of *Great Britain* will, in some measure, bear an Analogy to that of *Rome* in the Days of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, when the one could not bear an Equal, nor the other a Superior, with this only Difference, that there has been no Blood spilt in the Dispute on either Side.

YET tho' there has been no other Violence offer'd by either Party but what has been done by Pen and Ink, I am confident the common and united Interest of the Nation has suffer'd by the Misunderstanding that is betwixt them; for it is certainly the same Thing, whether Interest advise or act, according to that of the learned Bishop *Taylor*: "Many, says he, have got
 " a Trick of giving People over to the
 " Secular Power, which at the best is no
 " better than Hypocrisy, removing Envy
 " from themselves, and laying it upon
 " others; a refusing to do that in an ex-
 " ternal

“ ternal Act which they do in Council and
 “ Approbation; which is only transmitting
 “ the Act to another, and retaining a Pro-
 “ portion of the Guilt to themselves, even
 “ their own and the others too.”

I come now to consider the Treaty of *Seville* in its most material Branches, with regard to the Interest of *Great Britain*. By the first Article we have not only the Possession of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* confirm'd to us, but also a free, uninterrupted, advantageous and beneficial Trade, granted to all the Ports of his Catholick Majesty's Dominions both in *Europe* and *America*; this Treaty being grounded on all other Treaties. It is objected, that the Pretensions of the *Spaniards* to the Fortress of *Gibraltar* is founded on the Concession in the Convention at *Madrid*, in the Year 1721. and that therefore it is apprehended that they will renew their Claim when Time and Opportunity serves, since that Convention as well as any other, is confirmed by the first Articles: But here the Author does not consider that there was a formal Renunciation made by his Catholick Majesty in the strongest, securest and most effectual Manner at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, when he consented to the Partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy, in order to procure a general Peace, which he very much wanted at that Time; and that if he had an Assurance given him at *Madrid* to have that Garrison surrender'd to him, it was only a verbal Promise and a
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private Contract, which was neither ratified or confirmed by his late Majesty, or any Minister Plenipotentiary: And as all intended Contracts that are not sign'd are void at the Demise of either of the contracting Parties; so his late Majesty being defunct before the Conveyance was executed, his present Majesty is in no Ways obligated to stand to that Agreement, it being prejudicial to him and the Welfare of his People.

AND as his Catholick Majesty has bound himself, his Heirs and Successors, in Case of any Danger, Rupture, or Civil Commotions, to guarantee all his *British* Majesty's Kingdoms, States and Dominions, we have no reason to doubt but that *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca* are signified under one of these Denominations. For as by the Treaty of *Utrecht* they are become Part of his Majesty's Dominions, the second Article needs no explanation, nor will it bear a double Meaning or Construction, it being express'd in Terms as clear as those in favour of *Don Carlos*.

AND whereas it has been frequently declared and is still insisted on by the Ministers of his *Britannick* Majesty, and those of the Most Christian King, that the Concessions that were made by the King of *Spain* to the *Offend* Company, his *Imperial* Majesty's Subjects, contained no less than an Infraction of the Treaties of Commerce, antecedent to the Year 1724. his Catholick
Majesty

Majesty declares that he never directly or indirectly had any such Meaning, which was a Concession that could not well be expected, or a Declaration that he never would have made, provided he had not a sincere Design to cultivate a strict Union and Friendship with his *Britannick* Majesty.

THE Queen of *Spain* has for a considerable Time had at heart the Succession of *Don Carlos* to the Dutchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*; and as she had Interest enough to influence the *Spanish* Councils, there is no manner of doubt but that it was that Affair that has hitherto retarded the Conclusion of the Peace. For as by the Quadruple Alliance he was appointed to succeed, in Case the Grand Duke should die without Issue, with this reserve, that those Dutchies were to be garrison'd with Neutral Troops, the King of *Spain* not to take upon himself the Care of the Prince nominated to possess those Dominions; and that during the Lives of the present Possessors, neither the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, or the King of *France*, or the Prince before-mentioned, shall be permitted to introduce any Troops of their own Nations, or of any other Nation in their Pay, into these Dominions, nor to put any Garrisons into any of the Towns, Ports, Cittadels or Fortresses belonging to them. But for securing the eventual Succession upon the Demise 'of the present Possessors, the principal Places of those Dominions shall be garrison'd

rison'd with a Body of *Swiss* Forces not exceeding 6000 Men; to be paid by *Germany*, *France* and *Great Britain*, in equal Proportions: Or if the *Swiss* Cantons could not conveniently raise such a Number of Troops soon enough for that Service, his *Britannick* Majesty was to furnish them, with the Consent of the contracting Powers, till the *Swiss* Troops could be rais'd to take Possession of those Places. This was the Tenure of the Quadruple Alliance. As to the Succession, whereas it is stipulated by the present Treaty, that *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferrajo*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, shall be garrison'd by 6000 Men, of his Catholick Majesty's Subjects. I cannot imagine why the Emperor should refuse to accede to this Treaty; for what signifies it whether the aforesaid Towns be garrison'd with *Spanish* instead of Neutral Troops, since this Variation cannot alter the Property or Tenure of the Quadruple Alliance, to which the Emperor acceded with all the Good-will and Freedom imaginable? Nor can I suppose that such an inconsiderable Number of Troops should give any Umbrage to the *Italian* Princes, except it be that as they are *Spanish* Troops, they would maintain his Title more effectually than the Neutral Troops, who being under the Direction of the three Kings, durst not attempt any Thing without their Command, Consent or Approbation.

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